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## TO THE FRIENDS OF IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

HAVING visited your country as an humble fellow-labourer in the great cause in which you are engaged, and which, through trials and difficulties which a stranger can scarcely appreciate, you have so zealously maintained, I have had a pleasing and satisfactory interview with many of you with reference to future exertions, in co-operation with those of other lands who unite with you in regarding slave-holding and slave-trading as a heinous sin in the sight of God, which should be immediately abolished. It is the especial privilege of those who are labouring in such a cause, to feel that "every country is their country, and every man their brother," and to live above the atmosphere of sectional jealousy and national hostility; and hence I feel an assurance that you will receive with kindness a few lines from me, on the eve of my departure to my native land.

You concur generally in opinion, that, in endeavouring to obtain the great object we have in view, it is very important that the friends of the cause should be united, not only in principle, but, as far as may be, in the character of the measures which they pursue; and I have been much encouraged in finding that you have generally adopted the sentiment, so rapidly spreading on the other side of the Atlantic, that there is no reasonable hope of abolishing the slave-trade but by the abolition of slavery, and that no measures should be pursued for its attainment but those which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character.

The progress of emancipation in Europe has been, beyond a doubt, greatly retarded by leaving slavery and the slave-holder unmarked by public reprobation, and by concentrating all the energies of philanthropy upon a fruitless effort to abolish the slave-trade; and, in this country, the colonization scheme, with its delusive promise of good to Africa, and its vague anticipation of putting an end to the slave-trade by armed colonies on the coast of that ill-fated continent, has been the means of obstructing emancipation at home, of unprofitably absorbing the energies and blinding the judgment of many sincere friends of the slave, and strengthening the unchristian prejudice against colour. The abolitionists of Europe, with few exceptions, have seen the error of their former course of action, and are now striking directly at the root, instead of lopping off the branches of slavery. And, if further evidence of the evil tendency and character of colonization is needed in the United States, the recent proceedings of a meeting of the Maryland Society at Baltimore must convince all who are friendly to the true interests of the people of colour, that it is a scheme deserving only the support of the enemies of freedom.\*

The rapid progress of public opinion as to the iniquity of slavery, and the entire safety as well as advantage of its immediate abolition—the attention which has been awakened to it in all parts of the civilized world—the movements in France, Spain, Brazil, Denmark, and other countries with slave-holding dependencies,

all indicating that the days of slavery are numbered, should serve to encourage and stimulate us to increased exertions; and, while it is a cause of profound regret that any thing should have disturbed the harmony and unity of the real friends of emancipation in this country—the hardest battle-field of our moral warfare—I am not without hope that, in future, those who, from a conscientious difference of opinion, not as to the object but the precise mode of obtaining it, cannot act in one united band, will laudably emulate each other in the promotion of our common cause, and in christian forbearance upon points of disagreement; and that, where they cannot praise, they will be careful not to censure those who, by a different road, are earnestly pursuing the same end. Without entering into the controversies which have divided our friends on this side of the water, I believe it would be nothing more than a simple act of justice for me to state, on my return to Europe, my conviction, that that large portion of the abolitionists of the United States who approve of the proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, and are desirous of acting in unity with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, from the general identity of their practice as well as principles with those of the British and Foreign Society, are entitled to the sympathies, and deserving of the confidence and co-operation of the abolitionists of Great Britain. It has been my pleasure to meet, in a kindly interchange of opinion, many valuable and devoted friends of emancipation, who, while dissenting from the class above-mentioned in some respects, are nevertheless disposed to cultivate feelings of charity and good-will towards all who are sincerely labouring for the slave. And in this connexion I may state, that, neither on behalf of myself nor of my esteemed coadjutors in Great Britain, am I disposed to recriminate upon another class of abolitionists, who, on some points, have so far differed from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Committee, and the great majority of the Convention above-mentioned, as to sustain their representatives in refusing to act with that Convention, and in protesting against its proceedings, and who have seen fit to censure the Committee in their public meetings and newspapers in this country, as "arbitrary and despotic," and their conduct as "unworthy of men claiming the character of abolitionists."

As a corresponding member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Committee, and intimately acquainted with its proceedings, I am persuaded that its members have acted wisely, and consulted the best interests of the cause in which they were engaged, in generally leaving unnoticed any censures that have been cast upon them while in the prosecution of their labours. Yet, before leaving this country, I deem it right to bear my testimony to the great anxiety of that Committee faithfully to discharge the duties committed to their trust, and to state that it has never been my privilege to be united to a body more desirous of keeping simply to the one great object of their association—the *total and immediate abolition of slavery and the slave-trade*. I am persuaded that all candid minds, making due allowance for the imperfections pertaining to human associations, will feel their confidence in the future integrity of that Committee increased, in proportion as they closely investigate their past acts, and that, even when the wisdom of their course may have been questioned, they will accord to them a scrupulous honesty of purpose.

The first public suggestion of a general anti-slavery convention, like the one held last year in London, originated, I believe, on this side of the atlantic; although the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society took upon themselves the heavy responsibility of convening it. At its close they invited an expression of the opinion of the delegates, as to the desirableness of again summoning such an assembly. The expression was generally in the affirmative, and after the discussion, a resolution was passed, leaving it to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (after consulting with the friends of the cause in other parts of the world) to decide this important question, as well as the time and place of its meeting, should another Convention be resolved upon.

Since I have been in the United States, I have found those abolitionists who approved the principles and proceedings of the late Convention so generally in favour of another, and of London as its place of meeting, that the only question seemed to be whether it should be held in 1842, or 1843. This expression of opinion is, I know, so generally in accordance with the views of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee, and of many other prominent abolitionists in Europe, that I have little doubt they will feel encouraged to act upon it, probably at the latter period. There is abundant and increasing evidence of the powerful beneficial influence of the late Convention, upon almost every

\* The following resolution was passed at the meeting above alluded to:—"That, while it is most earnestly hoped that the free-coloured people of Maryland may see that their best and most permanent interests will be consulted by their emigration from this state; and while this Convention would deprecate any departure from the principle which makes colonization dependent upon the voluntary action of the free-coloured people themselves; yet, if, regardless of what has been done to provide them with an asylum, they continue to persist in remaining in Maryland, in the hope of enjoying here an equality of social and political rights. THEY OUGHT TO BE SOLEMNLY WARNED, that, in the opinion of this Convention, a day must arrive, when circumstances that cannot be controlled, and which are now maturing, WILL DEPRIVE THEM OF CHOICE, and leave them no alternative but removal."

part of the world where slavery is still tolerated; and we are encouraged to hope that the one in anticipation will be still more efficient for the promotion of universal liberty.

Painful as has been to me the spectacle of many of the leading ecclesiastical bodies in this country, either placed in direct hostility to, or acting as a drag upon, the wheel of the anti-slavery enterprise, and of the manifest preponderance of a slave-holding influence in the councils of the state, I am not one of those who despair of a healthful renovation of public sentiment, which shall purify the church as well as the state from this abomination.

There are decided indications that all efforts of council, and synods to unite "pure religion and undefiled," with a slave-trading and slave-holding counterfeit of christianity, must, ere long, utterly fail. And it is to me a matter of joy, as it must be to every friend of impartial liberty and free institutions, that the citizens of this republic are more and more feeling that the plague-spot of slavery has, with the increased facilities of communication, its horrors and deformity rendered more apparent in the eyes of the world, is fixing a deep disgrace upon the character of their country, and paralyzing the beneficial influences which might otherwise flow from it as an example of a well regulated free government. May each American citizen who is desirous of washing away this disgrace, to whatever division of the anti-slavery host he may attach himself, ever bear in mind, that the cause is of too tremendous and pressing a nature to admit of his wasting his time in censuring and impeding the progress of those who may array themselves under a somewhat different standard from his own! To waste any energies which belong to the one great object is, so far as human instrumentality is concerned, not only to defer the day of freedom to two and a-half millions of his countrymen; but, inasmuch as the fall of American slavery must be the death-blow to the horrid system wherever it exists, to leave undetermined the slavery or freedom of millions in other parts of the world, as well as the continuance or suppression of that slave-trade, to the foreign branch of which alone more than one thousand victims are daily sacrificed, and in reference to which it has justly been said—"That all that has been borne to Africa of the boasted improvements of civilised life, is a masterly skill in the contrivance, and an unhesitating daring in the commission, of crimes which the mind of the savage was too simple to devise, and his heart too gentle to execute."

There are no doubtful indications, that it is the will of Him who has the hearts of all at his disposal, that, either in judgment or in mercy, this dreadful system shall ere long cease. It is not for us to say why, in his inscrutable wisdom, he has thus far permitted one portion of his creatures so cruelly to oppress another, or by what instrumentality he will at length redress the wrongs of the poor, and the oppression of the needy; but, should the worst fears of one of your most distinguished citizens, who, in view of this subject, acknowledged that he "trembled for his country when he remembered that God was just," be finally realized, may each one of you feel that no exertions on your part have been wanting to avert the Divine displeasure, and to preserve your land from those calamities, which, in all ages, have rebuked the crimes of nations!

Your sincere friend,

JOSEPH STURGE.

Boston, 7th Month 31st, 1841.

#### THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

ALLOW me to call thy attention, and that of thy readers, to the concluding portion of an article in the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*, containing a statement of the Grounds and Objects of the Budget. I think it desirable thus to notice statements which have been put forth in a work possessing a considerable amount of influence (not confined to our own country), because this influence has, I fear, on the present occasion, been unhappily given, in some degree at least, to support deep-rooted prejudices, and sentiments in no slight degree erroneous, on subjects connected with the great question of negro freedom.

I proceed to quote a passage which does not appear to be wholly free from objection. In speaking of Brazil, it is said—"The enlightened must grieve to people a country far larger than central Europe with an African instead of a European race—with the worst race instead of the best; the ambitious must regret to see an increase of population productive of national weakness, instead of strength; the humane must deplore the waste of life and happiness; and the timid, or, to speak more correctly, the prudent, must look at Hayti, and dread the increase of the barbarous portion of the community." Is it indeed stated, however inadvertently, in a work which was once devoted to the advocacy of the cause of liberty, not only for the white portion of our species, but for the shamefully calumniated and deeply injured descendants of Africa, that the latter are the worst portion of the human race? Is such a statement correct? Alas! there are to be found men having a fairer skin, with high pretensions to civilization, and calling themselves by the hallowed name of Christ, whose conduct proclaims them unworthy to be classed with the untutored and sable sons of Africa. I allude to the slave-owners and slave-dealers—to those destroyers of human life and happiness, the confederates of the man-stealer—in Brazil and Cuba, in the North American Union, in Portugal, in Spain, and wherever

these supporters of an atrocious system of fraud, cruelty, and violence are to be found.

I fear that the allusion of the reviewer to Hayti may be interpreted to mean, that the existence of a large coloured population is a natural source of danger in Brazil, and, by inference, in countries similarly situated. This, however, would be an erroneous deduction from facts which took place at Hayti, except so far as the danger arises from holding such persons as slaves. What was the conduct of the negroes of St. Domingo when freedom was first accorded to them, the largest population of bondsmen then existing in the West Indies? They conducted themselves well, and worked diligently; and the island was never more prosperous than during that period of seven years in which they first enjoyed the blessing of liberty. It was only when the wicked attempt was made, by force and fraud, to reduce again to slavery men who had once tasted the sweets of freedom, that the horrors inseparable from a civil war were experienced, and the invading French army, with the property of all the planters, and the lives of many, were destroyed. A large number of those who fought for their freedom also perished, and among these, by an act of cruel treachery, the illustrious Toussaint—no mean specimen of a despised race. St. Domingo should always be cited—and for this purpose other examples might be given, derived from the history of our colonies during the period of slavery, when serious insurrections were not rare—as an instance of the peril which is inevitable wherever it is sought to make men slaves, or to retain them in slavery; and not as an example (to which it is not appropriate) of danger arising from the existence in a country of a class of men, different indeed from the rest in the land of their origin, but possessed of just and equal rights, and having, consequently, no motive to rebellion, or acts of violence. I well recollect hearing T. B. Macaulay state, at the first anti-slavery meeting held in London—a meeting never to be forgotten, for its character, the individuals who supported it, and the results which followed—that it is the infliction of the cruel wrongs of slavery which stings man to madness, and that without these all danger of insurrection in our colonies, then unhappily tenanted by slaves, would have had no existence. The correctness of this remark has been evinced by the large reduction which it has been deemed prudent to make in the number of troops in our West India colonies, since the introduction of entire freedom into those parts of the British empire, and by the peace and security which have followed that righteous measure.

I make another quotation. "We repeat, therefore, our belief, that the motives for desiring the abolition of the slave-trade exist still more strongly in Brazil than in Cuba, and that an additional impulse from this country—such an impulse as the government plans, if they had been adopted, would have given, would have enabled us to obtain the real co-operation of the Brazilian authorities in putting it down. With such co-operation on the part of Brazil and Cuba it can be effected—without it (and we have never yet obtained it) all our efforts on the African coast or on the high seas, all our expenditure of life, health, and treasure, have produced, and will continue to produce, effects worse than mere failure. They will not materially diminish the amount of the trade, and they will materially aggravate its horrors." It is here stated, but without the semblance of proof, and little had been previously offered, that the adoption of the government plan would have enabled England to obtain the real co-operation of the Brazilians in putting down the slave-trade. Our knowledge of the difficulty which has ever prevailed in destroying the slave-trade where slavery exists, and all its demoralizing and brutalizing influences, whether the attempt has been made in English colonies, or in foreign countries, or in their dependencies, is entirely at variance with so delusive and unwarranted an expectation. I am glad to find that the reviewer acknowledges the worse than impotency of efforts to suppress the slave-trade by force, which involve an expenditure of £600,000 annually to England, and the loss of many of her seamen; and I hope that this folly, and worse than folly, will no longer be persisted in.

The last quotation which I shall make is the following:—"If that policy (referring to the encouragement which it was proposed to give to the tropical productions of foreign countries, including those raised by slave-labour) will enable us, as we have shown that it will, to destroy the slave-trade, the amelioration of slavery is the necessary result. This is too obvious to require detailed explanation. The inequality of the sexes, one of the worst evils of slavery kept up by importation, must instantly begin to subside. We shall hear no more of gangs worked to death and re-placed every ten years, as the most profitable mode of consuming them. The labourers who can no longer be imported will be carefully preserved and bred. And this is the only mode by which they can be prepared for emancipation. Men must have been brought up in civilized life, accustomed to its wants and its restraints, to its obedience and its regular labour, before they can exist in it as free members, with advantage or even safety. To give freedom to Africans, and to expect them to become useful labourers, would be absurd. Discontinuance of the slave-trade is, therefore, a necessary forerunner of emancipation, and the success of the experiment in our colonies is mainly attributable to its having been made nearly thirty years after the importation of Africans had ceased. So long an interval may not be necessary in every case, nor is it necessary that so great a change should be always so rapidly completed. But we repeat, that discontinuance of the importation of Africans must always precede emancipation, and

precede it by a considerable period ; and that the extension of our commercial intercourse with the Spanish colonies and Brazil, as it affords the only means of putting down the slave-trade, affords therefore the only means of promoting emancipation."

I regard a large portion of the propositions contained in this long extract as seriously erroneous. They are such as I should have expected to meet with, rather in the journals of a country polluted by the existence of slavery, than in one published in a land whose laws and whose people are, to so great an extent, opposed to the existence or continuance for one moment of the accursed system of slavery as are those of England. I will only comment very shortly on a few of the most important statements, or sentiments, which appear to be incorrect in the passage quoted.

It is alleged that a long preparation is needful before liberty can be safely or suitably given to Africans, and that the circumstance of thirty years having elapsed subsequent to the abolition of the slave-trade by Great Britain before freedom was granted in her colonies, is the principal cause of the success which has attended the experiment of emancipation that has recently taken place.

I am not disposed to dwell long on verbal criticisms ; but I do not think it improper to ask, in what consists the act of emancipation ? In a compliance with the apostolic command, "Masters render unto your servants that which is just and equal ;" and, in those instances in which the spirit of the act has been observed no less than its letter, in an attention to the concluding portion of the passage of scripture quoted, which requires masters also to "forbear threatening." This act is likewise in strict accordance with those portions of the sacred volume, which inform us that it is an incumbent religious duty to "undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke." Is a measure which is thus sanctioned by the doctrines of holy writ—by the command and expressed will of him who cannot err, who is perfect in wisdom and goodness, to be regarded as an experiment—a word which implies more or less of uncertainty with regard to its beneficial results ? I answer confidently, that it should not be so regarded, and that a measure thus framed on the eternal principles of justice could fail only by the height of folly, and the grossest misconduct, on the part of those who hold the upper rank in society in our colonies, as legislators, rulers, proprietors, and managers. It has succeeded admirably, in despite of the errors, the unjust laws, and the oppressive conduct of those who had been too long accustomed to the methods of a cruel despotism to abandon immediately a course, which, however, happily for the negro as well as for his master, cannot be long persisted in under a state of freedom.

But the alleged fact of the period which elapsed between the abolition of the slave-trade and that of slavery by Great Britain is (unless I am much mistaken) erroneous ; and thus falls the miserably feeble prop on which the reviewer appears to build the monstrous assumption, that a generation of human beings must pass away subsequently to the abandonment of one great crime, before it can be safely succeeded by putting away another, scarcely less at variance with the requirements of justice and humanity. It is, indeed, well known, that the slave-trade was extensively carried on in our colonies for years after it was legally abolished, and that, in the Mauritius particularly, a very large portion of the slave-population had been illicitly imported from Africa or Madagascar, within a few years of the passing of the act for the abolition of slavery.

But are newly imported Africans so dangerous as the reviewer assumes them to be in a state of freedom ? Ask the British West India merchants, who, at the present moment, are seeking with so much earnestness to stock our West Indian colonies, as largely as they can, with this most dangerous, but most patient and enduring of the human race ! There are serious objections to such a proceeding ; but the strongly expressed wish of so many British planters is sufficient evidence of the futility of fears conjured up by a guilty conscience, and an avarice which is never wanting in a pretext for retaining its prey.

I may further observe, that the false doctrine of the expediency of gradual emancipation has been long since exploded by the abolitionists of England, and that the opinion generally entertained by those who have devoted the largest amount of time and attention to the anti-slavery question is, that the only means of removing the enormous evils inseparable from slavery and the slave-trade is the abolition of the former. It would be easy to bring forward irrefragable arguments in support of this opinion. Does not every person acquainted with the history of abolition know, how vain were all the attempts of the people of England to obtain any material amelioration in the lot of the slave, while retained in that degraded and helpless condition, or even as an apprentice—a new form of slavery ? How large was the measure of his sufferings, and how great was the mortality which took place under all the successive changes in the laws which attempted to regulate slavery, until freedom really came ! Then, indeed, came happiness, morality, civilization, and religion, and the promise, already in no small measure fulfilled, to change the recent abodes of oppression into a comparative paradise, and a scene of unexampled prosperity.

The results of emancipation do, indeed, so far as they are known, although in some degree impeded by the folly and misconduct of too many of the planters or their agents, prove the falsehood of all the arguments which have been advanced against conferring liberty upon a race, whose unjust sufferings have scarcely a parallel in the history of human crime. An untiring zeal on the part of abolitionists everywhere in that righteous cause which has thus far

advanced in its glorious course, and the blessing of the Almighty on this example and these efforts, will, doubtless, shortly banish from the professedly christian world a crime unworthy of the least enlightened portion of the human race, and a foul disgrace to a nation possessing any portion of civilization or religion.

Before I conclude, I may express my hope, that, in a future number of the *Edinburgh Review*, an attempt may be made to rescue that work from the degradation of being, or appearing to be, an apologist for cruel prejudices and opinions, at once superannuated and seriously erroneous.

It will be perceived that I have confined my attention to a small portion of the remarks on the grounds and objects of the budget. It may not be improper for me, in order to avoid misconception, to observe, that I am decidedly friendly to a general liberal commercial policy, in all cases in which it does not involve an encouragement of the slave-trade or slavery.

I remain thy friend,

GEORGE WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

*Lombard Street, 8th Month, 1841.*

#### SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

*London, 8th Month 23rd, 1841.*

SIR,—In my last I gave my reasons for believing that the treatment of slaves in Brazil is, at present, such as that of the darker days of slavery in the British colonies. I would now explain what that fearful system is, even under the English residents of that empire, who consider themselves the best of slave-masters. For this end I shall refer to it in English gold mines, in English plantations, in English houses, and in sales by English auctioneers.

*Slavery in the English Gold Mines.* In some of these are the very best samples of slave-managers that I ever saw in any country that I have visited. When the system of slavery in the control of large bodies of negroes will admit of a deviation from its inseparable companion, severity, they endeavour to yield to it ; and, in some instances, they have granted what usurpers would call a boon, but what British freemen should consider as a restoration of a pittance of their lawful right. It must, however, be distinctly understood, that they in no way depart from the general principle of compelling their slaves to work when they please, where they please, and how they please, whilst they withhold all the net proceeds of their regular labour. To effect this, they (to use their own words,) "feed them well, clothe them well, and flog them well." This last measure is, indeed, a matter of course ; for unrequited labour cannot be procured without coercion, either from man or beast.

They punish principally with an instrument made like that used by our cellar-men for corking bottles, save that it is composed of heavy hard-wood, about seventeen inches long, having gimblet holes in the circular end to let the wind escape, that the blow may have full force. The circular end is in diameter nearly as large as the palm of the hand, on which the slave receives the blows, whence it is called a *palmatoria*. A medical man who attended two of the gold mines, informed me that he knew of two cases of fingers broken by the blows of this instrument. I asked how that happened. He explained in two ways : first, by the negro instinctively drawing back his hand, so that the blow intended for the palm strikes the fingers ; and, secondly, by the swelling and contraction of the muscles, through which the finger points turn upwards, and receive the stroke.

I saw on the record kept at one of these mines, that twelve, twenty-four, and forty-eight blows were common punishments. I asked the officer who showed me the book, if it were not against the interest of the proprietors to use an instrument which swelled the hand, inasmuch as the negro, so circumstanced, could not without difficulty and pain use the tools necessary for the work. He replied, "that suffering is a part of the punishment ; for, how ever the labour may hurt them, yet the task must be done."

On hearing that there was a *knack* in using the *palmatoria*, and that the blows from hand to hand were given with sharpness and speed, I inquired if a negro or negress, under dread of the suffering, should not extend the hand as quickly as required, how could this be managed ? "In such case," said my informant, "they get it on the head, and soon find it better to receive the punishment as fast as they can throw out one hand after the other."

They also flog with a cat *both male and female*, after which infliction the patient is sent to hospital. In one of these mines there is an order from the Board, desiring that the medical officer shall always be present at such floggings. This I mentioned to one of the leading officers of the Imperial Brazilian, who, with a sort of indignation, replied, "I would not submit to such a regulation ; but, nevertheless, when I intend to give more than two or three dozen, I always require the attendance of the surgeon." Hence it is evident that floggings which endanger life are sometimes considered necessary, both by the boards of management in England, and by their agents abroad.

The negroes who were purchased for the establishment of these mines were Africans ; and the supplies, either for increased labour or to replace those who died, or were killed by the falling in of mines, &c., were from time to time of the like description. Many were purchased even since 1836, five years after the importation was prohibited by the Brazilian legislature. The consequence is that many have suffered from the effect of seasoning. Indeed, the medical officer attached to one of them told me, that he had no

idea of the misery which new slaves endured from acclimatization, until he witnessed it. This was further confirmed by the sacristão, or sexton, of the neighbouring parish, whose office it is to attend all baptisms and burials. This individual informed me, that his priest had, within the last three years, baptized many new negroes for the English mine, and that he had since buried thirty-seven of them. This I suppose to have been one-sixth of the number actually purchased.

Such are the evils which the system entails upon the proprietors; for, the deeper they sink their workings in the mine, the greater is the number of labourers required, and these cannot be supplied but by newly imported Africans. Slaves of "good character"\*\* are not to be procured in sufficient numbers; as the creoles (those born in slavery) are considered very "bad characters," and the ladinos (Africans trained to slavery) very much degenerated. For this reason large proprietors *look to the slave-trade* for occasional supplies, and the holders of these shares have likewise no other hope than that their increasing demand for labour shall be supplied from the same source.

Lest it be supposed, in opposition to this position, that the negroes may increase by births, and that creole slaves trained under such slave-masters would not deteriorate in character, I would specifically refer to these two points; viz.—

1st. Increase by birth is physically impossible. The number of female slaves in one mine is considerably less than the males, while in the others they are nearly as one to three. Besides this, these mines afford an undeniable proof that children do not thrive in slavery, except, indeed, on breeding estates (of which there are none in Brazil), where the proprietor's profit arises from the sale of the offspring. For instance, I can state, on the authority of a very principal individual in the St. Joao del Rey mine, that, "out of one batch of twenty-four children born in one year, twenty-three died within the year, while the twenty-fourth was probably dead at that moment." That this fearful mortality is attributable to slavery is evident; for, in all the province of Minas Geraes, in which these mines are situated, the free coloured population increase in a manner that is surprising to every traveller. The French author, St. Hilaire, frequently refers to this, whilst describing his tour through that part of Brazil. On one occasion he thus writes:—"Nothing is more common than to meet women who have from twelve to fifteen children, and even more." \* \* Almost all the inhabitants of this village are men of colour, who, for the most part, are engaged in agriculture or trade." vol. i. page 78. But it is unnecessary to travel through the province to ascertain this fact; for the English children of the mines themselves thrive exceedingly well. Of one family in a house where I abode, and in the very same mine in which the awful mortality of infants took place, there was a numerous offspring, I believe ten in number.

2ndly. In reply to the position, that, if creole slaves were raised by these first-rate slave-owners, they would be improved rather than deteriorated in character, I am sorry to say, that these Englishmen are also the followers of that mistaken expediency which prevails in Brazil, of guardedly keeping the slaves in a state of ignorance. The Imperial Brazilian mine established a school about three years ago, but soon abandoned it, in consequence of the displeasure of their neighbours. Hence, as education offers the only barrier to the immorality which is so rampant in Brazil as even to destroy the mind of the untutored African, it is not to be expected that, under such a system, the English, or any other set of men, can improve the character of those who may be born in their hands.

In a conversation with one of the chief officers of the Brazilian company's mine, I mentioned that one, the Imperial Brazilian, had resolved to purchase no more slaves. "This," said he, "would bind us to keep those we have, which would be a great inconvenience; for, when they are bad characters, we sell them (*fora da província*) out of the province." By this method of selling the negro he is in a manner transported for life, as the purchaser gets him cheaper on condition that he never be permitted to return.

I was also told that there were runaway negroes then in the woods, whom they could not catch. Therefore I conclude that their very best endeavours by no means satisfy their slaves; and that they are, at best, but an attempt to gild over a vicious and life-destroying system.

I have now said as much as a general reference will permit relative to slavery in the English gold mines of Brazil; and I purpose in my next to refer to the other points mentioned in the commencement of my letter.

I am, Sir, your's very truly,  
GEORGE PILKINGTON.

\* This phrase, in Brazil, has no reference to moral character; but denotes those who will bear any thing without resistance.

INDIA: DELHI.—A slave girl belonging to the king's family having been discovered in an intrigue with one of the princes, she was sentenced by his majesty to lose her nose; which cruel punishment was, we hear, carried into effect. A bazaar report has it, that her ears also were made forfeit to the king's indignation on the occasion. The unfortunate girl has died in consequence of her wounds.—*Bengal Hurkaru*, June 5th, 1841. The investigation of this case would at once proclaim that the slave has a protector. It would save a world of trouble with the innumerable small fry of rajahs and nabobs, by at once deciding that a palace is not a sanctuary for the slave-holder.

#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.), at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

### Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, AUGUST 25TH.

We have the happiness of announcing the return to this country of our beloved friend and coadjutor, Joseph Sturge. He arrived in England on the 14th instant. Many will unite with us in thankfulness to the God of Providence, who has mercifully preserved him in safety and health. His farewell address to the abolitionists of the United States will be read with interest.

In calling the attention of our readers to the strictures of Mr. Alexander on the concluding part of an article which appeared in the last *Edinburgh Review*, on the Grounds and Objects of the Budget, we feel it to be our duty to join with him in reprobating the tendency of the reviewer's remarks. To say that they are grounded on false assumptions, that they are contrary to historical facts, and that they are in opposition, therefore, to the deductions of a sound philosophy, would, we fear, be unavailing to counteract the mischief they are calculated to inflict on the best interests of mankind, unless it were done through the columns of that able and influential periodical. The *Edinburgh Review* circulates through the slave-holding regions of North and South America, and the French, Spanish, Dutch, and Danish West Indies; and most eagerly will the enemies of human liberty in these parts of the world avail themselves of its high authority, to justify their prejudices against the coloured race, or their tyranny in holding that race in bondage. Who the writer of the article in question may be we know not; but, certainly, it does not bear upon it the impress of the great mind to which it has been attributed, and it is as much opposed to the doctrines held by that eminent person, as it is inferior in its composition to the energy and beauty of his style. We never can believe that any man who has distinguished himself in the anti-slavery controversy, or is adequately acquainted with it, could be the author of that review.

When the reviewer would carry a point, he is ready enough to avail himself of the authority of such men as Mr. Burnley, of Trinidad: but he does not do justice to that gentleman, as we shall presently show; and, if he be quoted as an authority upon one point, and that an hypothetical one, we may quote him upon another with which he is practically acquainted. In reference to the principles of free-trade in their application to the products of slave-labour, Mr. Burnley, as quoted by the reviewer, observes:—"Thank God! we are now emancipated as well as our labourers, and we can walk abroad bold and erect, and claim the benefit of the freest principles. If we are fairly and honestly allowed to trade with all the world without restriction, we fear no competition from any quarter in the colonial market of the mother-country. When that is effected, the agriculture of Trinidad will successfully compete with that of every country depending upon slave-labour." Yet, subsequently to his having made this declaration, Mr. Burnley presided over a public meeting held in Port of Spain, to consider "the alarming proposal" of the home government to make a reduction in the foreign sugar duties, at which the following resolutions were passed unanimously; viz.—

That to expend thousands with one hand in attempting to repress the traffic in slaves with an armed force, whilst with the other we are to open the door of the home market of Great Britain for the consumption of the produce of their labour, thus directly encouraging the traffic we profess our determination to abolish, by enhancing the profit of the slave-owner—is a line of policy unintelligible to West Indian colonists, and one which, if persevered in, cannot but impair the confidence they would ever wish to entertain in the wisdom and justice of the councils of the mother-country.

That the plea of necessity for the introduction of sugar raised by the compulsory labour of slaves into home consumption is unfounded; as the island of Trinidad alone, from its extent and fertility, is capable with a sufficient labouring population, of producing more sugar than the inhabitants of Great Britain can consume, and at a cheaper rate by free labour than it can be raised in Cuba and Brazil, where slavery prevails: provided the restrictions which now impede the free current of immigration be removed, and an adequate protecting-duty be continued to the British grower, until such time as he can procure and render available such labour.

That this desirable object, by which the institutions of slavery would be gradually but peaceably undermined in every part of the world, could be effected in a short period of time, by only granting to the inhabitants of Trinidad the benefit of the principles which govern the just distribution of free labour, which are clearly consistent with the strictest rules of Christian philanthropy, and which were solemnly proclaimed as binding upon the nation and government when they divested West Indian colonists of property created by law, and abolished institutions which for centuries had been encouraged and supported by our national power and resources.

Now, here we have the grounds on which Mr. Burnley, and his brother planters in Trinidad, will consent to the reduction of the sugar duties. He wants the labour market of the world to be thrown open to him, and an adequate protecting-duty on his produce until he can obtain the labour required, and render

available for his purposes. Thus much in explanation of Mr. Burnley's views. But whither would he go for his labourer? To Europe, which, in the judgment of the reviewer, supplies "the best" race? No; but to Africa, which, in his judgment, supplies "the worst" race—a race to which it seems it would be absurd to give freedom. "Men," he says, "must have been brought up in civilized life, accustomed to its wants and its restraints, to its obedience and its regular labour, before they can exist in it as free members with advantage, or even safety. To give freedom to Africans, and to expect them to become useful labourers, would be absurd." Well, let us hear Mr. Burnley and his brother planters, practical men, intimately acquainted with the negro character, give their judgment on this matter. What says he?

I will now suppose that we are gravely asked, as if the question were of difficult solution, from what quarter of the world we expect to procure labourers? We can easily reply, that nature has pointed out the source, and that common sense and common humanity require that we should seek for them in a climate congenial with our own, to make the change as slight as possible to the moral and physical feelings of the immigrants. We should look for them in the tropical regions all round the globe, wherever they could be obtained on terms most beneficial to both parties: *but, for the present, it may be sufficient for us to point out the opposite coast of Africa as being the nearest and easiest of access, and where, from the barbarism and injustice of their local government, the natives would unquestionably be most benefited by the change.*

Hear Mr. Bushe, another eminent authority, on this matter—

There were said to be 1,000,000 of acres of land in the island fit for the cultivation of sugar. That statement was probably derived from the survey of the island made by Captain Columbine, who stated that it contained 1,500,000 acres, and that two-thirds of the island was fit for the growth of sugar. If one-seventh part of that were planted with canes, say 150,000 acres, it would yield 200,000 tons of sugar; which is more than the average consumption of Great Britain. But how were the planters to do this? *No other way than by importing labourers largely from Africa and elsewhere.* The miserable driblets in which the emigrants came here was only destroying our neighbouring colonies, and doing us little good. Since they had begun to arrive, wages had increased fifty per cent. *We should require at least 75,000 labourers from Africa, calculating the additional labourers at the rate of one to every two acres.*

And let us tell the reviewer, that so intent are Mr. Burnley and his associates upon the scheme of stocking Trinidad with the worst race instead of the best, that they are content not to draw their supplies of immigrants from Sierra Leone only, but they wish to range the whole western coast of Africa to obtain them, and this is what they mean by the "removal of restrictions which now impede the free current of immigration." And, let it be remembered, the planters of Jamaica and British Guiana are following in the wake of those in Trinidad. To Africa they are sending their vessels for emigrants, and they esteem it a great advantage to be allowed to draw their "free labourers" thence. The Africans who, during the last few years have been introduced into the Bahamas, Jamaica, Trinidad, and Guiana, are amongst the very best labourers in these colonies; and therefore the planters are most anxious to obtain them. We give one quotation more from Mr. Burnley, in favour of the "worst race." In combating an opinion which had been advanced by a stranger to the island, that "the intellectual condition of the natives of Africa was low," he said that that was "an opinion which the Committee (of Enquiry, over which he presided) would never have formed, judging by their own experience of the thousand liberated Africans landed in this island five years ago, who appear to be as acute and intelligent, with respect to their personal interests, as any labourers in the island." This statement agrees with that of others, and, we may add, with our own convictions, after having been brought into contact with a considerable body of native Africans in British Guiana.

The reviewer hazards another opinion, namely, that the abolition of the slave trade should precede that of slavery, by some interval between "now and never;" and he considers that the necessary consequence of the former would be the amelioration of the latter. He says, in that event "we shall hear no more of gangs worked to death, and replaced every ten years, as the most profitable mode of consuming them. The labourers who can no longer be imported, will be carefully preserved and bred." It may be sufficient to reply to this statement, that, in our own colonies, in the space of eleven years ending in 1828-9, there was a decrease in the slave population of 52,000 over all the births, that the planters to the very last, resisted every amelioration in the condition of the victims of their oppression, and that these two facts led the imperial legislature to decree their liberation from bondage. As to any general preparation of the negroes for freedom, however much it might have been thought of and urged by the mother country, it was, except in a few rare instances, opposed and frustrated in the colonies. And now let Mr. Burnley be again heard. In summing up the evidence he gave, last year, before the parliamentary committee on East India produce, he observed:—"I will only say, that the West India colonies are most valuable dependencies, and that hitherto we have been unable to understand their value, in consequence of the want of labour. **WE COMMITTED THE ERROR OF SUFFERING THE EXISTENCE OF SLAVERY WHILST THE SLAVE-TRADE WAS ABOLISHED.** The system was continued after the supply was cut off, by which these colonies were paralyzed. But, now that there appears to be a prospect of introducing a sufficient labouring population, I am firmly convinced that more valuable dependencies are not to be found in any part of the world."

With respect to the conduct of the enfranchised population,

and the future prospects of Trinidad, he said, at a meeting of the agricultural society, held at Port of Spain, on the 11th February, 1841—"In seating myself again in the chair to which, by your flattering suffrage, I was two years ago elected, my mind naturally reverts to that period of gloom and despondency, when the most sanguine among us could hardly anticipate a favourable result from our exertions. Slavery had been recently abolished, and the first movements of our emancipated labourers threatened the growers of exportable produce with heavy loss, if not with absolute ruin; *a movement neither capricious nor unnecessary, but arising from natural causes, which called them to new duties under a new state of society.*" We thank Mr. Burnley for this generous testimony to the labouring population. And what was the result? We may learn it from the striking appeal made by him to his auditory:—"Where is the planter who entertains a doubt of being able this year to make a handsome crop, if we are only blessed with average fair weather? I have not met with one since my return. Where is the planter who does not avow that he is now further advanced in his cultivation and weeding; in fact, in everything on which the crop of 1842 depends, than at any former period at the same season, under a compulsory system of labour! The exceptions I have met with are so few, that I impute them solely to defects in administration, which a better acquaintance with the working of free labour will, no doubt, soon remedy." With this statement we close, merely remarking that, however much we may differ from Mr. Burnley in some of his theories respecting immigration and colonization, we prefer him as an authority, in all practical matters, to the reviewer, whose fallacies and false doctrines ought never to have found a place in a work designed to influence and lead the public mind in this and other civilized countries. We hope that more care will be observed in future to preserve unity of sentiment in the articles affecting the anti-slavery cause, which no work, in times past, has contributed more to uphold and defend than the *Edinburgh Review*.

WE direct the especial attention of our readers to Mr. Pilkington's third letter on Brazilian slavery, which appears in our columns to-day. It treats of the English mines; and, quiet as his statements are, they are truly appalling.

WE present our readers with some astounding and heart-rending disclosures, under the head of Slavery in British India. Let every friend of humanity see by what a horrible system of organized murder the market for slave-children in India has been supplied. We are truly happy to observe the attention which the public press generally is now devoting to this deeply interesting subject.

OUR notice of Liberia in our last number has provoked some anonymous writers in the *Morning Chronicle*, on whom it might have been necessary for us to bestow a word, but that they have been so well disposed of by a correspondent, in a letter which will be found in another column.

#### SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

##### THUGGEE.

For the further illustration of this astonishing depravity, we quote some passages from the confessions given in Major Sleeman's report, contained in the parliamentary papers recently published.

The confession of Jewan Dass, alias Prem Dass, relative to the Husseengunge affair, taken in my presence on the 19th August, 1838.

"Q. Are you a jemadar of Thugs?—A. Yes.

"Q. How many men and women compose your gang?—A. My gang formerly consisted of fifty or sixty men and women, but of not more than ten or twelve latterly.

"Q. Relate some of the technical terms used by your gang.—A. We call our trade, viz., murdering travellers for their children, "Megpunna;" a male traveller, "Kur," a female traveller, "Kurree."

"Q. Do you observe any omens on opening a Megpunna expedition?—A. Yes; the call of the partridge, which, if heard on the left, is considered propitious, and on the right the contrary.

"Q. From whom did you learn this system of Thuggee, &c.?—A. From Umree Jemadarnee, a woman confined for life in the Delhi gaol.

"Q. Relate the particulars of Husseengunge affair.—A. I left my home with a gang of forty Thugs, and proceeded to Husseengunge, where Heera Dass and Rookmune went to the city of Muttra for the purpose of buying some clothes, and succeeded in winning the confidence of four travellers, two men and two women, with their three children, whom they brought with them to our encampment. After passing two days with us, Teela Dass, Mudhoo Dass, Byragees, and Dews Hookma, Teelak, Gunguram, Brinjarahs, Balluck Dass, Chutter Dass, Neput Dass, and Hunooman Dass, prevailed on this family to accompany them to the banks of the Jumna, and murdered the four elderly travellers in a garden near the village of Gokool. After throwing their bodies into the Jumna, they took their three children to the tanda, or encampment, of Dews, Brinjarah, near the village of Kheur, and sold the two female children for forty rupees, and the male for five rupees. On their return to the encampment, Heera Dass, alias Pudma, and Mudhoo Dass quarrelled about the division of the money, which terminated in Hookma, Brinjarah, preferring a complaint of selling children against Mudhoo Dass, at the Thana of Husseengunge. The thanadar made inquiries regarding the sale of the children, and succeeded in recovering them from Dews, Brinjarah, who related at the Thana the particulars of the murder of their parents, and the circumstance of their having been taken by a party of Byragee Thugs, to the village of Khur, and sold to the Brinjarah, upon which the Thanadar apprehended twenty-nine of us."

From the deposition of Radha, wife of Roopla:—"We now went off to the Thuneiseir, where we encamped in a grove on the bank of a tank, and here several parties of travellers were inveigled by the wives of the leaders of our gang, to come and take up their lodgings with us.

" 1. A Chumar, with three daughters, one thirty years of age, and the others young.

" 2. The widow of a carpenter, and her son ten years of age.

" 3. A Brahmin and his wife, with one beautiful daughter fourteen years old, another five, and a son six years of age.

" 4. A Brahmin and his wife, with one daughter about fourteen, another twelve, and a son three years of age.

" These travellers lodged for two or three days among the tents of the Nacks and Brinjarahs, after which we all went one morning to a village in the territory of the Toorolee rajah—I forget his name. Here a very heavy rain fell at night, and deluged the country, and we got no rest. The next morning we went to a village on the banks of the canal, still in the same Rajah's country. The next day we went to a village on the bank of the Jumna; and, two hours after night, Kaner Dass proposed that we should go down to the sacred stream of the Jumna, say our prayers, and remain there. They all went down accordingly, leaving me, Roopla, and his second wife (Rooknanee) at the village. They murdered the seven men and women, and threw their bodies into the river; but who killed them, or how they were killed, I know not. The Chumar and his eldest daughter, the two Brahmins and their wives, and the carpenter's widow, were all murdered.

" They brought the nine children back to us a watch and a half before day-light. They were all crying a good deal after their parents; and we quieted them the best way we could, with sweetmeats and playthings. We came to Beebeepore, and encamped in the grove. A daughter and son of the Brahmin's were extremely beautiful, and these we left with Dhyan Sing for sale. We came on to a village a coss distant from Beebeepore. Here a trooper came up to Beebeepore, saying that he had heard of several people being murdered, and suspected us of the crime. The headmen of the village of Beebeepore, and some of the Brinjarahs, came to our camp with the trooper, and assured him that he must be mistaken, as they knew us all to be very honest, inoffensive people, and, taking him back to Beebeepore, they treated him with great consideration, and he went away apparently satisfied. But, fearing that our deeds had become known, Pemla and Newla's wives, and Pemla's mother, took off the seven other children to Dhyan Sing, and left them all in his charge. Pemla went to Kurnaul, Goorbuksh and his gang went to Beebeepore, while my husband and his party remained where we were. A woman who keeps prostitutes came from Kurnaul, and purchased and took away all the children. All were sold through Dhyan Sing. One boy was purchased by an elephant driver, who took him off upon his elephant, and another was purchased by a mussulman. All the rest were taken off in covered carriages by the prostitute, to Kurnaul. I should know all their faces again, were I to see them. My husband and Kaner Dass disputed a good deal about the mare that has been brought in; but my husband got it at last in his share of the booty, and seven or eight rupees besides.

" At Thuneiseir, Goorbuksh and his party got six or seven travellers, with their six or seven children, at the same time that we got ours, and the parents were all murdered at the same time and place that the parents of our children were murdered, on the bank of the Jumna. He also sold his children through Dhyan Sing, at Beebeepore. There were several people from Beebeepore concerned with us. We came back to Beyree, in the Ihujur Nawab's territory; and, three or four days after, Goorbuksh came to us, with one of the boys he had kept for himself out of his booty."

" The confession of Roopla Jemadar, relative to the sale of the children whose parents were murdered near Kurnaul.

" Three of the children whose parents were murdered at Kurnaul were sold to Emambuksha, who keeps prostitutes, and lives at a village about four coss from Kurnaul.

" Q. Describe the personal appearance of these three children.—A. One of these is about nine years old, remarkably fair, with very light hair, and the other two not quite so fair, about six or seven years of age.

" Thanab, Zemindar of the village of Beebeepore, takes five per cent. on every child he disposes of for us.

(Signed)

" C. MILLS."

Lieutenant Mills had the following conversation with one of the two men who described this last murder, Dheera:—

" Q. You have stated in your various depositions that you invariably preserve the children, and sell them. Are you not afraid that these children will disclose the manner in which you got them, and thereby get you into trouble?—A. We invariably murder our victims at night, first taking the precaution to put the children to sleep, and in the morning we tell them that we have purchased them from their parents, who have gone off and left them.

" Q. You seem to have been in the habit of selling children in all parts of the country; how have you avoided being apprehended?—A. The children are seldom aware of the fate of their parents; and in general we sell them to people very well acquainted with the nature of our proceedings."

From the first confession of Khema, alias Nursing Dass, a jemadar of Thugs:—

" After the capture of Bhurtpore Nanoo Sing, Brinjarah, and four other Byrages, residents of Kurronlee, came to me with four travellers and their four children, and invited me to participate in their murder; which I consented to, and, with the assistance of my gang, we strangled the whole of them, preserving the lives of the children, whom we sold at Jeipore for 120 rupees, half of which was divided among the members of my gang. After this affair, I resolved on selecting for my victims the poorest class of travellers, and murdering them for their children, for whom there was so great a demand in all the great cities; since which I have committed the following murders, the particulars of which I will detail as I may remember."

From the sixteenth confession of Hurree Singh, alias Seetal Dass, alias Sewram:—

" After my return from the last expedition, or ten days previous to my arrest, I went to Allum Bagh, in the Bhurtpore district, and was disapp-

" This poor boy Goorbuksh is supposed to have murdered, when he found it impossible any longer to escape from Lieutenant Mills's parties.

pointed in finding only five Brinjarahs, one of whom gave me a rupee for my food, which was to be adjusted the first murder we committed."

There is an abuse of the practice of selling children into slavery, which consists in selling them for prostitution. This abuse does not appear to be confined to those who practise the frightful trade of Megpunnaism; of course, however, such persons are far more indifferent to the future destiny of the unfortunate children whom they sell, than parents or other relations who sell children when pressed by want; and it is, therefore, probable that a much larger proportion of children sold by Megpunna Thugs is devoted to prostitution, than of children sold by any other class.

#### LIBERIA AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

SIR.—The following letter, addressed to the *Morning Chronicle*, was occasioned by two letters which appeared in that paper on the 18th and 20th instant.

I am, &c.

JOHN SCOBLE.

To the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

SIR.—There is a little knot of individuals in this country, American and English, who have been indefatigable, during the last twelve or eighteen months, in endeavouring to puff once more the American Colonization Society, and its settlement on the western coast of Africa, into notice. The character, however, of the Society and its colony is now so well known to the abolitionists of this country, that they require no further exposure to guard them from the deceptive statements put forth by the party referred to, and nothing but the "hardihood" of your correspondent, Fair Play, in insinuating the basest charges against honourable men, without having had the courage to attach his signature to them, and the attempted vindication of the "good men" who founded the colony, by your other correspondent, John Bull, at the expense of truth and candour, should have induced me at the present time to attempt a reply.

The honour or dishonour of having founded the American Colonization Society is assumed by one party for the southern slave-holders, and by another for the northern philanthropists. My own impression is, from the evidence before me, that to the south belongs the bad eminence of having originated this scheme for the expatriation of the free people of colour from their native land, and (whatever may be said to the contrary by its advocates in England) for strengthening the institution of slavery, by removing what they term a nuisance, an excrescence on the body politic, and a standing incitement to discontent and insurrection.

But, whoever originated the Colonization Society, it is quite clear that it has been chiefly managed, from its formation to the present time, by slave-holders. All its presidents, from Bushrod Washington to Henry Clay, have been slave-holders; the great majority of its vice-presidents and managers have been slave-holders also; and, it is not a little remarkable that, with only one exception that I have been able to learn, after diligent inquiry, none of the presidents, vice-presidents, or managers, have ever emancipated a single slave, even to go to Liberia.

The exception was Mr. Fitzhugh, one of the most active and talented of its vice-presidents. This gentleman died, I think, about four or five years ago, and, in his will, gave freedom to his slaves on condition of their going to Liberia; but he postponed their enfranchisement for a period of twenty or twenty-five years, on the ground that, such was the bad state of the colony at the period of his decease, that he could not trust them there without fear of injury to themselves. Better be a slave in America, was the opinion of that gentleman at that time, than a freeman in Liberia. As to the presidents of the society, they are known to have been traffickers in human flesh and bones throughout their lives, not excluding even the honourable Henry Clay, who, first and last, has been the purchaser of seventy human beings, which he dares, in the face of high heaven, impiously to call his property.

I turn from the society and its founders to Liberia, which is extolled as the focus of all excellence, the beacon light of liberty to enslaved Africa, the centre of the arts and christianity, whence are to radiate the lights of civilization and religion.

Already in the glowing language of the rev. R. R. Gurley, "towns, villages, school-houses, churches, for three hundred miles, throw a smile of beauty on the barbarous features of that continent." Rept in the vision of future ages, another distinguished advocate, General Harper, sees Africa "filled with populous and polished nations, all emanating from the 'magnificent' scheme of colonization," and "capes the climax" (as the Americans say) with the following burst of eloquence:—"When other states, and even the flourishing and vigorous nation (the United States) to which they belong, now in the flower of youth, which have run their round of rise, grandeur, and decay, and like the founders of Palmyra, Tyre, Babylon, Memphis, and Thebes, shall no longer be known, except by vague reports of their former greatness, or some fragments of their works of art, the monuments of their taste, their power, or their pride, which they may have left behind, then"—what?—the "populous and polished nations of the widely extended regions of middle and southern Africa will cherish their memories and sing their praises!" Is not this a noble consummation of slave-holding beneficence?

Now let us inquire by what agencies this glorious work is to be accomplished. Mr. Gurley, stand forth and tell us who are to be the regenerators of Africa, the founders of its cities and empires! He answers:—"Our free people of colour," who are "mostly uneducated poor, and without those moral restraints which self-respect, concern for reputation, and hope and prospect of improvement, impose upon other classes of the community;" a people who bear "the brand of indelible ignominy" upon them—who are "the subjects of a degradation inevitable and incurable"—who have been "scarcely visited in their debasement by the heavenly light." These be your civilizers of Africa! You send to that continent a race whom you cover with opprobrium, and spurn from you with abhorrence, and ask us to countenance your doings. We tell you, that British benevolence has other and purer channels into which its sympathies can flow. Go to Maryland, where colonization finds most favour and has its chief seat, and learn what it is doing. After having passed an atrocious law last year, which condemns free people of colour resorting to that state to slavery, giving one-half of the proceeds of their sale to the informer, and the other half to the funds of the colonization society, it is now about to compel sixty thousand of that unhappy class to go to Liberia. A more monstrous and inhuman act can scarcely be imagined. These are the fruits of the colonization scheme.

But I return to Liberia. According to a map which I have before me, attached to the fourteenth annual report (1831) of the American Colonization Society, I find the boundaries are marked as follows:—"From Gallinas river to the territory of Kroosetra, a distance of about 280 miles along the coast." In an explanatory note, however, it is added, "The territory at present under the actual jurisdiction of the colony extends from Grand Cape Mount to Trade Town, a distance of about 150 miles." This was in 1839. Mr. Gurley states the extent of the colony to be about 300 miles, and represents it as covered with "towns, villages, school-houses, and churches." He is my authority for the geography of Liberia, and for the manner in which it is occupied. Fair Play describes Liberia as "that part of the African coast lying between Capes Mount and Palmas;" but then he states that portions of it have never been under the jurisdiction of the colony. In making this exception his object is clear. It is a clever attempt to prove, that, though it must be admitted the slave-trade is actually carried on within the limits of Liberia, yet it has been eradicated within the colonial territory. For the first time we are told that there are chiefs in Liberia who have "refused to sell their land, or give up the slave-trade;" and yet, strange to say, Governor Buchanan is represented, as far back as 1836, as having, by treaty with seven neighbouring kings and chiefs, obtained a solemn pledge to abandon the slave-trade, and as having "subsequently" entered into "similar treaties with fifteen native powers to extirpate it at the only other intermediate point where it is known to exist." There is much that is vague, if not contradictory in these statements of Fair Play. But I pass on, to observe from the statement before me, that up to the year 1836, there appear to have been within the colony of Liberia twenty-two kings and chiefs more or less engaged in the slave-trade, and that seven of these lived in the neighbourhood of Monrovia; but for some time past the whole coast of the colony has been free from its ravages. For one, I should be delighted to find this to have been the case; but, notwithstanding the half dozen authorities referred to by this writer, or quoted by John Bull, I much doubt the fact, and here are my grounds for doing so. I commence my quotations from the year 1836, when it is said the treaties with the kings and chiefs in the neighbourhood of the colony were made.

In 1837, Captain Nicholson, of the United States navy, reported to the government, that, within a year, four slave factories had been established almost within sight of the colony (Monrovia).

In February, 1838, the British consul at Cape de Verds made the following communication to Lord Palmerston:—"On the 15th instant, arrived at this port a vessel under American colours, named Monrovia, last from Liberia, with a bill of sale and list of crew from the collector of that colony. This vessel had neither a register nor sea-letter. I have ascertained without doubt that she is a vessel belonging to Don Pedro Blanco, of the Gallinas, has put in here, directed to his agent, for a fit out for the coast, and that a cargo of slaves is ready for her. There is a black man on board for a flag captain, who speaks English well. Don Pedro Blanco's agent in Liberia is J. N. Lewis, commission merchant."

My next extract is from the *Liberia Herald*, a paper printed at Monrovia. In May, 1838, the editor observed:—"The first requisite to the prosperity and advancement of the colony is the suppression of the slave-trade in our vicinity. This trade has been gradually acquiring strength for the last four years; its ravages have been more fearful, and the vessels engaged in it more numerous, than at any former period of the colony's history. An exterminating war has raged over an extent of fifty miles around us; nearly all communication with the interior has been cut off; lands have remained untilled; every article of food has advanced 200 per cent in price, and horror and confusion have raged on every side."

In the slave-trade papers laid before parliament last year, we have the following intelligence from an intercepted letter of the captain of a slaver to his owner at Havana, under date of the 28th of September, 1838. He says, "To-morrow the schooner sails for New Sestos, to take on board a cargo of slaves which I have ready there. I have been obliged," he adds, "to have one hundred of shackles made at Cape Mesado" (Monrovia).

Governor Buchanan corroborates this disgraceful fact, in a communication dated August, 1839. After advertizing to the wretched condition in which he found the colony on his arrival, he says—"While our mechanics could find no employment at home, the slavers offered them plenty of work, high wages, and good Spanish doubloons for pay. The temptation was irresistible, and some, whose necessities were too strong for their principles, went among them; but I recalled the wanderers as soon as I came here."

We thus learn from unquestionable authority, not only that the slave-trade has been carried on within the limits of the colony, but in the immediate vicinity of Monrovia itself; that one of the most notorious slave-dealers on the coast has his commission-agent residing at that place; that the collector of the colony had been a party to the transfer of an American vessel to Pedro Blanco, to be employed in the slave-trade; that shackles for the confinement of the victims of the guilty traffic have been manufactured at Monrovia; and that, so great had been the traffic in slaves for fifty miles around it for several years, that horror and confusion had raged on every side. The recent communication of the reverend Mr. Clarke, now on a visit to Western Africa, with Dr. Prince, a physician, for the purpose of founding a religious mission among the natives in the interior, informs us that slave factories still exist within the limits of the colony of Liberia, though he expresses his conviction that the colonists are not chargeable with their support. "At Grand Sestos," says that gentleman, in another communication, dated 19th March, 1841, "I heard of another slave-factory, and of the successful shipment of a cargo of slaves, which had taken place a few days or weeks before we reached Cape Palmas. This information I had from Captain Harper, of the schooner Gil Blas, on the 10th December, 1840. The editor of the *Reporter*, therefore, was justified in view of the facts in asserting that, "within the line of coast now claimed as the colony of Liberia, and extending 300 miles, there are regular slave-factories."

With respect to the colony of Liberia itself, the utmost number of coloured persons who have either been forced or cozened thither cannot exceed five or six thousand. Amongst these there has been a vast mortality; and in those who remain, Mr. Clarke informs us, "the desire manifested to return to America is so great, that, if vessels were supplied, such a number would leave in them, that those willing to remain would find themselves too few to protect themselves from the natives, and would leave on this account." Some have left already for Sierra Leone, and I am informed that, recently, not a few of the missionaries who had gone to

the colony have returned to the United States, with serious complaints of the authorities, such as they are.

As it respects the native population, we cannot learn from the reports of the American Colonization Society, or any other authentic source of information, that they have been benefited, either morally or religiously, by the establishment of the colony of Liberia: but I do find that their lands, in more than one instance, have been obtained of them by the most fraudulent means, and that the collisions between them and the settlers have been frequent, and oftentimes bloody. The history of these contests would take up too much of your space; I shall, therefore, produce only a few citations from dispatches of the governor's of the colony, which will shew how the lights of civilization and christianity have been diffused among the natives through the agency of the colonists. In March, 1825, Governor Ashmun said,—"Every month's experience proves to me, that our neighbours (the natives) are corrupted by the influence of the bad examples, and derive no benefit from the good, that are set in the colony." In May, 1827, the same gentleman observes—"It is not known to every one, how little difference can be perceived in the measure of intellect possessed by an illiterate rustic from the United States, and a sprightly native of the coast." \* \* \* The fact certainly is, that the advantage is often clearly on the side of the latter." In February, 1834, Governor Pinney, writing from Monrovia, says—"The natives are perfect menials (I mean in the town). Nothing has been done for the natives hitherto by the colonists, except to educate a few who were in their families in the capacity of servants." The same gentleman, in 1836, publicly stated—"The colony has now existed fifteen years, and yet the 20,000 Africans around it have not materially altered any of their manners." The late Governor Skinner, in 1837, observed—"But few of the natives have been civilized. I have known but five instances. Two of these are professors of religion." These five were, in all likelihood, the "few" spoken of by Governor Pinney. Subsequently to this period, two missionaries have separated themselves from the colony that they might be useful to the natives, declaring it to be their conviction that they could not effect their object by association with the colonists. In April, 1841, the Rev. Mr. Clarke says—"The native towns close to the settlements at Cape Palmas remain quite distinct from the colonists, keep up their own customs, and appear as far from an approach to civilization or religion as if they had never seen the colonists, or heard the gospel preached among them." In another part of his valuable communication he observes, "I have been assured that the late wars (which took place in 1840) have had the worst possible effect on the minds of the natives; that they are increasingly jealous of the power and influence of the colonists, and highly displeased at their proud and overbearing conduct." He adds, "that it was stated as a thing self-evident, that, as the colony increased, wars would also increase; and that the spirit cherished on both sides would make these, as much as possible, wars of extermination." Such is Liberia, and such are its prospects in 1841.

In conclusion, I would just remark, that there is not a single abolitionist of any eminence in this country but has publicly borne his testimony against the American Colonization Society, both as to the principles on which it is based, and the plan of its operations. Wilberforce, Macaulay, and Cropper, among the dead—Clarkson, Buxton, and Lushington, among the living; and not a few of its once most talented and influential advocates in the United States—the Tappans, Birney, and Smith, have joined in condemnation of it, as the enemy of the coloured race, and the greatest obstacle now existing to the cause of abolition in America.

I am, &c.  
JOHN SCOBLE.

London, 23rd August, 1841.

#### SLAVERY IN CEYLON.

To the Right Hon. LORD JOHN RUSSELL, &c.

MY LORD,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society beg respectfully, yet urgently, to call your lordship's early and serious attention to the continued existence of slavery in the island of Ceylon.

On the 14th of August, 1806, a regulation was passed, by which all slaves not duly registered within four months from that period were declared free. On the 27th of May, 1808, seventeen months afterwards, it having been found that the regulation had not been generally complied with, the time for registration was extended for a period of six months longer, viz., to the 27th November, 1808. This new advantage given to the holders of slaves was neglected also, yet the forfeiture of the slaves consequent thereon was, the Committee deeply regret to say, never exacted.

Again, on the 5th August, 1818, another regulation was passed by the local government for the registration of slaves, allowing a period of three months from the date of the regulation for that purpose. The penalty for non-registration was declared to be "the forfeiture of the slave or slaves, and their children, who shall be and are declared absolutely free." Lord Bathurst, who was then colonial secretary, had recommended this measure in a despatch dated the 20th June, 1817; in which his lordship said, "the more rigidly its provisions are enforced the more it will meet my cordial approbation." The Committee have reason to believe that the registration was either evaded or neglected, and that no forfeiture of the slaves consequent thereon was exacted.

The Committee think it of no importance to do more than merely to advert to the regulation for the "triennial verification of the registers," passed in the period during which the late Sir R. W. Horton, bart., was governor, inasmuch as it never was allowed to be carried into effect; although, in the circumstances of the case under which it was passed, there can be little doubt that it would have secured liberty to a large body of slaves illegally held in bondage in Ceylon.

Your lordship will now permit the Committee to call your attention to another measure connected with the emancipation of slaves in Ceylon, which originated in a proposition of Sir Alexander Johnstone, formerly chief justice of that island. On the 10th of July, 1816, in compliance with his request, and to testify their gratitude for the benefits which had been conferred on them by

the British government, upwards of 750 of the principal slave-holders voluntarily agreed, that all children born of slaves from and after the 12th August, 1816, that being the Prince Regent's (afterwards George the fourth) birth-day, should be free; and solemn declarations to this effect were made by the Dutch inhabitants, burghers, Cingalese, Malabars, Moors, and others interested in slave property. To give full legal effect to this determination, a regulation was passed on the 5th of August, 1818; but the Committee again deeply regret to say, that, up to the year 1831, a period of fifteen years, only 96 children, viz., 50 males, and 46 females, had been registered as free, although it was estimated that the annual number of births of female slaves alone was 2500.

Another, and, it was hoped, a more successful attempt, was made by the government in 1821, to secure the abolition of slavery in Ceylon. A regulation was passed on the 17th April of that year, "for the gradual emancipation of the female slaves, by the purchase of the master's interest in such female slaves at the period of their birth." Objectionable in principle as this regulation was, inasmuch as it recognised a right of property in human beings, it was found, in 1829, that only 2211 had been purchased, or less than the admitted increase of female slaves in one year.

The number of slaves who appear to have redeemed themselves by labour on the public works, or otherwise, from the year 1818 to 1831, is stated to have been 504; viz., 200 males, and 171 females, with their children.

From the year 1831 to 1837, so far as the Committee are aware, no reports on slavery in Ceylon were made to the home government; and the evil appears to have been lost sight of, when the attention of the local authorities was again drawn to it by your lordship's predecessor in office, Lord Glenelg. It appeared from a census of the slave population, that, in the different provinces and divisions of the island, there were in that year 27,397 human beings held in bondage; although, probably, this did not embrace the whole of the slaves in the Seven Korles division, and the Kandyan provinces.

In a despatch of Lord Glenelg's to the governor of Ceylon, dated 24th November, 1838, his lordship gave it as his opinion "that slavery might be speedily extinguished in Ceylon, with little risk or difficulty," and suggested certain measures as preliminary to that desirable act. Whether any measures have been taken since that period, either by the home or the local government, to "let the oppressed go free," the Committee are in ignorance.

In submitting the foregoing facts to your lordship, it appears clear to the Committee, that, had the registration law of 1806, or even that of 1818, been rigidly enforced, as they humbly conceive ought to have been the case, it is probable that few (if any) slaves would now be found existing in Ceylon; whereas they have the strongest reason for believing, not only that the number of slaves is greater now than in 1806, but that the slave population has been increased by importations. The Committee would further take the liberty of observing, that, but for what appears to them the culpable neglect of the functionaries connected with the local government in enforcing the law of 1818, which gave effect to the voluntary engagement of the holders of slaves in 1816, in respect to the freedom of all slave children born after the 12th of August in that year, the same great object might have been happily accomplished. The Committee say nothing of the government measure, passed in 1821, for the purchase of female slaves, however benevolently intended, because they cannot recognise the right of man, under any circumstances, to hold property in his fellow-man.

In conclusion, the Committee earnestly entreat your lordship to use the great influence which you possess, as one of the confidential advisers of the crown, to recommend that an order in council may issue for the immediate and complete abolition of slavery in Ceylon; and that, not only on the ground of its utter repugnance to every principle of humanity and religion, but because the extended culture of coffee and sugar which has taken place within the last few years, will necessarily extend the evil, unless it be for ever and entirely put down.

On behalf of the Committee, I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient humble servant, JOHN SCOBLE.

REPLY.

Downing Street, 9th August, 1841.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord John Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ult., forwarding a memorial from the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, praying that an order in council may be issued for the immediate and complete abolition of slavery in the island of Ceylon. And I am to acquaint you in reply, for the information of the Committee, that his lordship had called upon the governor of Ceylon to furnish a report on the actual state of slavery in that colony before the receipt of your letter, and expressed his anxiety to abolish every vestige of slavery therein.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,  
John Scoble, Esq.

R. VERNON SMITH.

SLAVERY IN MALACCA, PENANG, SINGAPORE,  
AND WELLESLEY.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have forwarded to the President of the Board of Control a Memorial, of which the following is a copy, on the subject of slavery as existing in Malacca, Penang, Singapore, and Wellesley, British settlements in the east.

To the Right Hon. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Bart., President of the Board of Control, &c.

SIR,—The existence of slavery and the slave-trade in the British settlements of Malacca, Penang, Singapore, and Wellesley, having come under the consideration of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, they feel it to be their duty to call the immediate attention of the government thereto, that effectual measures may be devised for the immediate and complete extinction of both.

That slavery in these settlements is not authorized by law, but is the creature of vicious and odious custom, appears clear from the documents which have been from time to time laid before parliament. That it should have been allowed to reach its present extent, and to assume its present form, under the administration of British laws by British functionaries, is matter for deep regret, if not for strong censure; but the committee would fain hope, that, the facts of the case being now apparent, its days are numbered, and that you, sir, will urge on those measures which are necessary for its overthrow.

From the recorded opinion of Mr. Garling, the resident Councillor at Malacca in 1829, the committee learn that it was his "firm belief that local slavery had no legal existence;" and in this opinion he was fully borne out by the government, to whom he had made an appeal in 1828. "The government is decidedly of opinion that slavery has not, in any shape, a legal existence in Malacca." Yet, notwithstanding these recorded opinions, it was still permitted to continue, and finally the question was referred home for the decision of the law officers of the crown. Nothing, however, was done, and the system was allowed to continue, notwithstanding there had grown up with it a slave-trade, by which it would appear the slave population in one year (from 1826 to 1827) was increased from 1097 to 1519.

In 1829 the holders of slaves, feeling the uncertain tenure by which they held them in bondage, and anxious to secure their services to as late a period as possible, passed certain resolutions, to the effect "that slavery shall not be recognized in the town and territory of Malacca after the 1st December, 1841;" but no legal measures seem to have been passed by the government to give effect to this determination.

The late president of Penang, in a minute written in 1830, fully admits the evils which exist in connexion with slavery in that island. He justifies it only on the ground of the "long established custom and usage of these countries," although it is highly probable that slavery in Penang was introduced only when the English took possession of it, by virtue of its treaty with the sovereign of Quedah. Alluding to the practice of introducing slaves from Bala, Pulo Nias, &c., which had grown up with it, he considers that "we are bound by every obligation, legal as well as moral, to put down a practice which, however conducted in form, is in reality slave-dealing, forbidden by law, and the continuance of which must carry with it a continuation of all the horrors induced by it in other places (as exemplified in the case of African slave-dealing), the encouragement to wars for the purpose of making captives for sale, and, in these seas, even piracies, which it encourages, slaves being often the principal objects in view." In reference to the wretched beings who had been illicitly introduced into Penang, he observes "there can be no doubt that all so situated are *ipso facto* free."

The committee deeply regret to observe that Singapore affords, according to the same authority, "the best market for slaves," and that the suppression of the traffic will be no easy matter—indeed, that it is hopeless to expect it.

In province Wellesley slavery exists; and, from its contiguity to the Siamese territories, there can be little doubt it will greatly increase, unless its extinction speedily take place.

The committee, in submitting these facts to your serious consideration, beg, Sir, respectfully yet earnestly to suggest the necessity of steps being immediately taken to relieve the slave population of these settlements from every species of bondage, by whatever name it may be known; that the national character may be vindicated, the atrocious traffic in human beings be suppressed, and an example worthy of imitation be set to the nations and people by whom these settlements are surrounded.

Signed on behalf of the Committee, JOHN SCOBLE.

27, New Broad Street, July 24th, 1841.

SIR,—On behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, I have been requested to forward to you the enclosed memorial on the subject of slavery in several British settlements in the east, and to state that, had you been in town, the committee would have solicited the honour of an interview to have enforced its prayer.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient humble servant,  
SIR JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE, &c.

London, 29th July, 1841.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and of the memorial with which it is accompanied. I beg you will have the goodness to inform the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that I will pay due attention to the statements set forth in that document.

I remain, Sir, your very obedient humble servant,  
To JOHN SCOBLE, Esq. (Signed). JOHN HOBHOUSE.

BRITISH EMIGRANTS TO JAMAICA.—At a special meeting of the members of the Baptist Western Union, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—

Being awfully convinced that the present system of European emigration is fraught with misery and death to the unhappy victims who arrive in this island, and that, while it involves a great waste of the public money, it is injurious to the best interests of the island, we most earnestly implore the different anti-slavery societies in England, Ireland, and Scotland, to use every effort to put a stop to a system so destructive to human life, and to request those members of parliament who are known to be the friends of liberty and humanity, to call for a return of the immigrants imported, the number of deaths, and the quantity of produce cultivated by those who survive, feeling perfectly convinced that the views we have in these respects will be fully borne out by the disclosures that will there be elicited.

1st July, 1841.

JOHN CLARK, Chairman.

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